

Message Text

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ORIGIN SS-25

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY BEIRUT NIACT IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY CAIRO NIACT IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS NIACT IMMEDIATE
AMCONSUL JERUSALEM NIACT IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV NIACT IMMEDIATE
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK NIACT IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY JIDDA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

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EXDIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1 AND 2

TAGS: PEPR, MARR, UNSC, IS, LE, XF

SUBJECT: SOUTH LEBANON: WRAP-UP OF MARCH 17 ACTIVITIES

1. THIS CABLE SUMS UP THE MAJOR ACTIONS AND WASHINGTON DECISIONS TODAY, MARCH 17, FOR THE BENEFIT OF ADDRESSEES WHOM WE HAVE BEEN UNABLE TO KEEP UP TO DATE THROUGH SECURE VOICE TELECONS.

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2. THE SECRETARY TOLD DINITZ THIS MORNING THAT, ON THE BASIS OF TALKS WITH THE UK AND OTHER GOVERNMENTS, HE THOUGHT IT MIGHT BE BETTER TO MOVE AHEAD WITH A U.S.-PROPOSED THREE-POINT RESOLUTION (LEBANESE INTEGRITY, ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL, UN FORCE) IN THE SC IN ORDER TO PREEMPT UNHELPFUL RESOLUTIONS WHICH MIGHT BE INTRODUCED BY THE ARAB STATES. (THIS RESOLUTION COULD BE SUPPORTED

OR SPONSORED BY LIKE-MINDED MODERATES IN THE SC.) THE SECRETARY MADE CLEAR THAT WE WISHED TO AVOID LANGAUGE CON- DEMNATORY OF ISRAEL IN SUCH A RESOLUTION, BUT ISRAEL SHOULD UNDERSTAND THE NEED FOR WITHDRAWAL RIGHT AWAY EVEN IF THERE IS NOT A PERFECT AND SIMULTANEOUS LINK OF WITHDRAWAL WITH THE INSERTION OF UN FORCES. HE SAID HE PREFERRED NOT TO PROCEED WITH THIS PREEMPTIVE ACTION, HOWEVER, WITH- OUT FIRST SEEKING ISRAELI COMMENTS. DINITZ PROMISED TO

GET IN TOUCH WITH JERUSALEM INSTANTLY AND GET BACK WITH AN ANSWER.

3. MEANWHILE, FOLLOWING DRAFT RESOLUTION WAS PREPARED.
BEGIN TEXT:

THE SECURITY COUNCIL

--CALLS FOR STRICT RESPECT FOR THE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE OF LEBANON;

--REQUESTS THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL IMMEDIATELY TO UNDER- TAKE THE WITHDRAWAL OF ITS FORCES FROM LEBANESE TERRITORY;

--DECIDES TO SET UP IMMEDIATELY, UNDER ITS AUTHORITY, A UNITED NATIONS PEACEKEEPING FORCE FOR SOUTHERN LEBANON FOR THE PURPOSE OF RESTORING INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND
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SECURITY AND TRANSFERRING EFFECTIVE AUTHORITY IN THE AREA TO THE GOVERNMENT OF LEBANON, THE FORCE TO BE COM- POSED OF PERSONNEL DRAWN FROM STATES MEMBERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS EXCEPT THE PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL, AND REQUESTS THE SECRETARY-GENERAL TO REPORT WITHIN 24 HOURS ON THE STEPS TAKEN TO THIS EFFECT
END TEXT.

4. LATER IN THE MORNING THE LEBANESE PERMREP REQUESTED A MEETING OF THE SC; AND THE ISRAELI PERMREP FOLLOWED THIS ALMOST IMMEDIATELY WITH A SIMILAR REQUEST.

5. UNSYG WALDHEIM SUBSEQUENTLY TELEPHONED SECRETARY TO EXPLAIN, ON BASIS OF HIS TALKS WITH LEBANESE, SYRIAN AND KUWAITI REPRESENTATIVES, THAT SC WOULD HAVE TO MEET THIS AFTERNOON AND THAT HE EXPECTED THE DEBATE WOULD CONTINUE OVER THE WEEKEND.

6. DINITZ SUBSEQUENTLY CONVEYED TO THE SECRETARY BEGIN'S REQUEST THAT THE SECRETARY RECEIVE DAYAN SUNDAY EVENING TO HEAR NEW ISRAELI PROPOSALS AND THAT THE U.S. MEANWHILE SEEK A DELAY OF THE SC MEETING OR AT LEAST A DELAY IN

ANY VOTE. DETAILS IN SEPTEL. ISREALISWOULD
ALSO PREFER THAT U.S. NOT INTRODUCE RESOLUTION BEFORE
HEARING DAYAN PROPOSALS.

7. IN THE MEANTIME, AMBASSADOR YOUNG HAD BEEN CONSULTING
WITH THE LEBANESE AND SYRIAN PERMREPS, WHO WERE APPARENTLY
SPEAKING ON BEHALF OF THE ARABS. THEY MADE CLEAR: THAT
THE ARABS WANTED NO DELAY IN THE SC MEETING SCHEDULED

TO COMMENCE AT 3:30 P.M.; THAT THE ARABS WOULD LEAVE
PLENTY OF LATITUDE TO LEBANON TO NEGOTIATE THE LANGUAGE
OF THE RESOLUTION; THAT THEY WOULD WORK TO KEEP EXTREME
LANGUAGE OUT OF THE RESOLUTION; THAT THEY WANTED INITIALLY
A RESOLUTION WHICH DOES NOT LINK CALL FOR ISRAELI WITH-
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DRAWAL TO A UN ROLE. THEIR AVOWED PURPOSE, THEY SAID,
WAS TO ARM PRESIDENT CARTER WITH A RESOLUTION CALLING FOR
ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL BEFORE BEGIN ARRIVED.

8. THE LEBANESE AND SYRIAN PERMREPS INDICATED THEY HAD
NO PROBLEM IN PRINCIPLE WITH A UN ROLE BUT DID NOT WANT
THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A PEACEKEEPING FORCE LINKED TO
ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL IN THE SAME RESOLUTION, ARGUING THAT
IT WOULD ESTABLISH A DANGEROUS PRECEDENT (E.G., ISRAEL
MIGHT DELAY ITS WITHDRAWAL AND ESTABLISH A MORE PERMANENT
PRESENCE OR RHODESIA MIGHT ATTACK NEIGHBOR STATES AND
REFUSE TO WITHDRAW WITHOUT THE INSERTION OF A PEACE-
KEEPING FORCE). THEY SUGGESTED THAT TWO RESOLUTIONS
MIGHT BE OFFERED, THE FIRST CALLING FOR ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL
AND RESPECT FOR LEBANON'S TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND INDE-
PENDENCE, AND THE SECOND SETTING UP THE UN PEACEKEEPING
FORCE.

9. SHORTLY BEFORE THE SCHEDULED 3:30 MEETING OF THE SC,
THE SECRETARY DECIDED THAT:

--AMBASSADOR YOUNG WOULD BE GIVEN DISCRETIONARY AUTHORITY,
DEPENDING ON THE TACTICAL SITUATION, TO INTRODUCE AS A
PREEMPTIVE MEASURE THE RESOLUTION CONTAINED PARA 3.

--WE WOULD AT THE SAME TIME URGE LEBANESE PERMREP TUENI
TO TRY TO POSTPONE UNTIL MONDAY THE FINAL VOTE ON THE
RESOLUTION OR RESOLUTIONS (THIS WOULD BE DONE BECAUSE
THE ISRAELIS HAD URGED US SO STRONGLY TO POSTPONE FINAL
ACTION, EVEN THOUGH WE RECOGNIZE IT MAY NOT BE POSSIBLE
TO RESIST THE PRESSURES IN THE SC).

--WE MUST PUSH FOR AN OUTCOME IN THE SC WHICH CALLS FOR
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BOTH ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A UN
PEACEKEEPING FORCE (I.E., IN A SINGLE RESOLUTION).

10. ISRAELI EMBASSY DCM BAR-ON WAS IMMEDIATELY INFORMED
OF SUBSTANCE OF SEC'S DECISIONS AND REASONS FOR OUR
POSITION. ISRAELIS SUBSEQUENTLY TOLD US THAT IF RESOLUTION
ADOPTED PRIOR TO DAYAN'S ARRIVAL IN U.S., DAYAN WOULD
PROBABLY HAVE NO REASONTOCOMETO WASHINGTON SUNDAY
NIGHT. IN ALL OF OUR DISCUSSIONS WITH ISRAELIS, WE HAVE
STRESSED THAT DELAY THEY SEEK MAY NOT BE REALISTIC OR
POSSIBLE.

11. IN SUBSEQUENT MEETING WITH LEBANESE AMBASSADOR
KABBANI, ATHERTON MADE CASE FOR POSTPONEMENT OF VOTE
BUT GOT QUALIFIED OBSERVATION THAT PACE IN NEW YORK
MIGHT SLOW IF MILITARY ACTIVITY STOPPED, ETC. LEBANESE
AMBASSADOR INDICATED, HOWEVER, THAT HE THOUGHT LEBANON
WOULD BE ABLE TO AGREE TO COMBINING WITHDRAWAL AND UN
FORCE IN ONE RESOLUTION.
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